

# ON THE MOVE

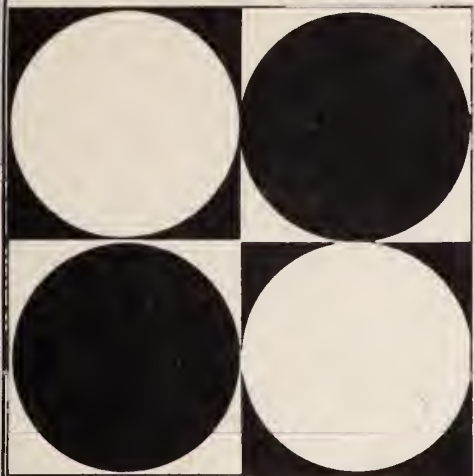
FAIR HOUSING PROGRAM

FUNDED BY COUNCIL AGAINST POVERTY

OPERATION OPEN CITY

NEW YORK URBAN LEAGUE

PREPARED BY PLANNERS FOR EQUAL



OPPORTUNITY • N.Y. METROPOLITAN CHAPTER

# A SURVEY ANALYSIS

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O P E R A T I O N

O P E N

C I T Y

of

THE NEW YORK URBAN LEAGUE

REPORT ON

FAMILIES MOVED TO NEW HOMES

- - - - -

STUDY MADE BY

NEW YORK METROPOLITAN CHAPTER,  
PLANNERS FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

December, 1967

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## PREFACE

Planners for Equal Opportunity is a national organization of city planners and persons in allied fields committed to the principle that the facilities and opportunities of the society should be made available to all citizens through positive public policies and actions.

Within this purpose, the New York Chapter of Planners for Equal Opportunity has been serving as research consultant to Operation Open City, the New York Urban League's fair housing program. The first results of this association, Planning for Open City, published in December 1966, reviewed the first six months of Open City's efforts to aid minority families seeking better housing, and made certain policy recommendations for extending the program and increasing its effectiveness.

The present report concentrates on one aspect of the Open City program: the satisfactions attained by the families rehoused through it. A mail survey of several hundred placements was conducted to ascertain the nature of the placed family, its present and former residence, on the values it sought and found in moving and the degree to which it relied on the services of Open City. The survey results were then analyzed to obtain a series of profiles of the families placed by Open City and the circumstance of their housing choices.

From the client point of view, we believe that this is one of the first surveys, of the results of an open housing program. As such, it should be helpful not only to Open City as it advances its work, but to similar efforts in other cities.

The survey was designed, conducted and evaluated and the draft report written by Tom Gale.

As always, it was a pleasure to work with the staff of Open City.

Harry Schwartz  
Chairman,  
New York Chapter,  
Planners for Equal Opportunity

Bob Bogen & Hall Winslow  
Co-Chairmen,  
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December, 1967



S U M M A R Y  
OF  
OPERATION OPEN CITY

In January 1964 OPEN CITY started as a small pilot project. It has now become the largest fair housing program in the country and is a unique effort in the war against poverty.

A direct action program which helps Negro and Puerto Rican families secure their rights in equal access to housing, OPEN CITY fights the housing discrimination which keeps non-white New Yorkers in racial ghettos. Recognizing that this discrimination is an integral part of the poverty cycle, the New York City Council Against Poverty has financed OPEN CITY since February 1966.

At that time a grant of \$136,250 was made to the New York Urban League of which OPEN CITY is a part (having moved to this agency in September 1964 from the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing where it originated.) The anti-poverty grant made possible the expansion of OPEN CITY from a staff of three to 22 full-time and 16 part-time workers in three offices, in Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens.

Approval has been given by the Council Against Poverty for an increase in OPEN CITY'S budget for the current fiscal year which will make possible the opening of an office in the Bronx, and further additions to the staff required by the constant and rapid growth of the program.

## SUMMARY (cont.'d)

OPEN CITY registers families and individuals who wish to move, and provides counselling services and extensive information (in both Spanish and English) about legal rights under the state and city fair housing laws. Kits of information are given each registrant. These contain "Neighborhood Spotlights", detailed descriptions of some forty neighborhoods where good housing is available outside the ghetto and where Fair Housing Committees are ready to help. They also contain information about the services of white "checkers" who help secure the evidence of discrimination. As the registrants go out in search of housing, they are given continued help, specific leads, and finally, complaints are filed by OPEN CITY when discrimination is met. A high percentage of those who have moved through the program have had to file complaints of discrimination.

The rights of Welfare recipients are a particular concern of OPEN CITY, and there is no let-up in the fight to help them secure their legal rights from both the Department of Welfare and the landlords. "Your Housing Rights" which gives detailed information on the range of rentals the Department is authorized to pay is widely distributed and used in the OPEN CITY program.

The response of the non-white community to this systematic attack on housing discrimination has been tremendous. New registrants come to our offices at the rate of over 1,000



SUMMARY (cont'd)

a month, anxious for the help we offer. The largest percentage come as a result of friends who have been helped by OPEN CITY. Those who have been rebuffed in the past are ready to try again because now there is solid support behind them, and those who have not looked outside the ghetto before are now encouraged to try.

Over 1,000 families have made the move to new homes throughout the five boroughs and surrounding suburbs, directly through OPEN CITY. We estimate that an equal number of households have moved indirectly through the impact of the program, the information distributed and the support we offer. This is approximately some 6,000 to 8,000 people.

The heartening returns from the questionnaire analyzed in this Report by the Planners verify the daily experiences of our staff who are in direct contact with these families on the move. Typical examples are the mother who phoned: "I stood my ground because I knew you were behind me. And I got the apartment!" and the young husband who called after his search in the Washington Heights area of Manhattan, "Baby, now I know why you need those checkers!"

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## PART I: REPORT ON THE OPEN CITY PLACEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

For some time it has been felt that a summary of the experiences and circumstances of clients relocated through Open City would provide valuable insights into the program and create a better understanding of open housing processes in general. To obtain such a summary, it was hoped that an extensive interview survey could be conducted. Only by personal contact can the most relevant information be secured with a high degree of satisfaction. It is still hoped that an interview survey of Open City's successful clients can be made in the future.

However, the immediate needs of the Open City program and the many requests for information from public and private agencies throughout the country have resulted in a survey by the less thorough means of a mailed questionnaire, called "The Open City Placement Questionnaire."

Mail contact was made with the first 600 households aided by Open City. At the time the data was compiled, 103 questionnaires had been completed and returned. A sample of the Placement Questionnaire is appended to this report.

The Questionnaire has been treated very seriously by the respondents. The amount of detailed comment and explanation reveals the care with which the answers have been prepared. Had this much attention been anticipated, a freer

## Placement Questionnaire Report

form could have been attempted and a fuller accounting of each household's experience and circumstances would have been solicited.

However, the returns permit analysis in all categories included in the form, and the character of the data support confidence in the results.

For most items of information, analysis has been undertaken in reference to the degree of geographical integration accomplished by the move. This necessarily provides an imprecise base for measurements since data on the racial mixture of various areas is not current, is incomplete and is generalized. However, this base has been selected as most meaningful in most cases, and the data available--1964 School Planning Area information--is more relevant and current than the more specific, but earlier census data and more detailed than post 1964 estimates.

The geographical areas selected for analysis are grouped as follows in terms of their proportion of non-white population:

Group A---Areas with over 50% of population non-white (referred to as ghettos)

Group B---Areas with 25% to 50% of population non-white

Group C---Areas with 10% to 25% of population non-white

Group D---Areas with under 10% of population non-white (referred to as white areas)

## Placement Questionnaire Report

### Summary of Results

A general picture of the motivations and achievements of Open City's clients emerges with consistency throughout the analysis. More than better shelter, the households are seeking better living environments, consisting primarily of elements in the community outside the home. A good environment for raising children is most important to the families, and they have many definite ideas as to what the environment should contain, which for the most part conform to the prevailing standards of the national society.

Integration is sought less as an ideal and accomplished more as a result of seeking a better living environment. Households and individuals who have most successfully fulfilled their desires have also attained higher degrees of integration. Integration is almost never accompanied by negative results or regrets, but it is only sometimes an important end in itself.

There are few dramatic variations between movement into progressively more integrated areas, and achievement of desires, such as gaining an improved living environment. There is, rather, a continuous gradation between degrees of success as measured in attained desires and correspondingly rising levels of integration.

## Placement Questionnaire Report

These findings are important for the program. They add dimension to the recommendations of Planning for Open City, the evaluation of the program's operations up to September, 1966. The recommendations in Planning for Open City were for a dual-purpose program; with one emphasis on counseling and information services to clients and the other on actions aimed at opening up significant housing opportunities for Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The more long range goals retain their validity, but the findings of the Placement Questionnaire re-emphasize the value of the program's advisory services as constant and effective means of working towards the larger goals.

It is evident that the program should continue and expand its successful counselling and advisory services, while at the same time furthering the development of broader housing opportunities. This finding is consistent with the desires of Open City's clients, who through the Placement Questionnaire and other contacts, have almost unanimously expressed warm feelings for the program and the hope that the services they have used can become better known and more widely provided throughout New York's Negro and Puerto Rican communities.



## Placement Questionnaire Report

### Validity of the Data

For the uses to which the data is subjected in the following analyses, the 103 answers to the Placement Questionnaire are accepted as representing the responses of all 600 households who were surveyed. The deductions of client behavior are limited to data patterns explained in the following discussion.

It must be emphasized that the results of this type of survey do not provide a conclusive statement of the motivations and experiences of Open City's clients. They rather provide a reliable general picture of their relative attitudes towards the program and their current housing and environmental situations.

### Geographical Location

The old and new addresses of respondents to the Placement Questionnaire have been plotted and connected on Illustration 1, a map entitled "Locations of Open City Clients." The map has a base showing racial distribution in School Planning Areas of New York City in 1964. In general the map shows a high concentration of clients located in Harlem moving to an expanded area of west, south, and central Bronx. There is a trend stressing movements in Brooklyn to the south of the central ghettos. Movements in Queens are distributed

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widely, but tend to be made consistently toward the east.

The map portrays a movement from ghetto the non-ghetto areas.

Table 1 summarizes the data on the map. A measure of the tendency of respondents to move to more integrated areas, as shown in the table, is that six times as many new locations as old are in white areas and that four times as many old locations as new are in ghetto areas.

TABLE 1(a)

### OLD AND NEW LOCATIONS OF RESPONDENTS BY RACIAL COMPOSITION OF GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

Percent Non-white Population in Old Location Areas		Number of Respondents from Old Location Areas by Percent of Non-white Population in New Location Areas					Total
		Over 50%	25-50%	10-25%	Under 10%	Outside City	
Group A	Over 50%	5	19	8	6	2	40
Group B	25-50%	4	17	7	7	3	38
Group C	10-25%	0	5	8	2	1	16
Group D	Under 10%	0	1	0	2	0	3
	Outside City	1	2	2	1	0	6
	TOTAL	10	44	25	18	6	103

(a) All area categories in this and the following Tables are New York City school planning areas categorized by percentage of non-white population in 1964.

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### Comparison of Old and New Locations of Respondents

According to Table 1, client households formerly residing in areas with more than 50 percent non-white population (Group A) are highly likely to move to areas with lesser percentages of non-white residents, particularly into sections with 25 to 50 percent non-white. Those who formerly lived in areas with 25 to 50 percent non-white population are inclined to move to areas with the same or a lesser percentage of non-whites, while those in areas with 10 to 25 percent are generally moving into areas with, on the average, the similar shares of non-white population.

Although this data is generalized and based on a restricted sample, it supports a generalization: Open City clients residing in or close to ghettos (i.e. in areas with over 25 percent non-white population) will in most cases move out of them to the better environments available in more integrated communities or to better housing within familiar areas.

### Moving Away From Friends and Relatives

Table 2 reveals a further generalization: the decision to seek better environments in integrated communities involves a choice of environmental satisfactions over a community of familiars. Thus, over four out of five of the client households who moved to areas with under 10 percent non-white popu-

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lation indicated that they moved away from friends and relatives, while among those moving to ghettos, less than one-third experienced such disruption. In overall terms, twice as many (67 percent) respondents feel that they have moved away from friends and relatives as those who feel they have remained close or moved nearer.

TABLE 2

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS CITING RELOCATION  
AWAY FROM FRIENDS AND RELATIVES BY PERCENT  
NON-WHITE OF NEW LOCATION AREAS

	Percent Non-White Population in New Location Areas	Percent of Respondents
Group A	Over 50%	29
Group B	25-50%	64
Group C	10-25%	71
Group D	Under 10%	82
	All areas	67

A prime value of Table 2 is that it helps highlight the elements comprising the true choice in housing to which Open City is dedicated. Along with the fact of housing shortages, discrimination and ghetto conditions, the attraction of the familiar must also be considered. Open City should support housing development and ghetto reconstruction as important

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factors in achieving its aims. At the same time, it should give its special attention to opposing discrimination and presenting real housing opportunities to ghetto residents. In a sense, a particular goal for Open City is to make all of the New York region as familiar to ghetto residents as it is to the white population.

An important fact for the Open City staff to bear in mind when presenting housing opportunities to the program's clients is that 83 percent of all respondents to the Open City Placement Questionnaire replied that they definitely have not experienced any instance or feeling of discrimination after moving to their new locations.

### Environmental Desires and Satisfaction

One item on the Questionnaire asked respondents what features of housing and community surroundings had been sought and which ones had been found when they moved. The returns are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 shows that the most sought after and secured element of the environment is a better neighborhood (62 percent) rather than a better building, more spacious quarters, integration or community facilities. This is emphasized by the additional fact that according to Table 4, 28 percent of all respondents selected "a better neighborhood" as the single most important environmental feature.

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A better neighborhood was sought by almost three-fourths of the respondents who moved into all non-ghetto areas. Other features of major importance according to Table 3 are better buildings, more space and better schools. Recreation, transportation and integration are given relatively less value, by respondents, being sought about half as frequently as the major features.

TABLE 3

### ENVIRONMENTAL FEATURES SOUGHT AND FOUND BY RESPONDENTS BY NEW LOCATION AREAS

Environmental Features	Percent of Respondents by Percent of Non- White Population in New Location Areas				All Respondents
	Over 50%	25-50%	10-25%	Under 10%	
<u>Better Building</u>					
sought without finding	38	8	10	19	20
sought and found	50	70	52	38	50
found without seeking	12	3	5	19	8
neither found nor sought	<u>0</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>22</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Better Neighborhood</u>					
sought without finding	38	11	16	0	6
sought and found	25	76	76	61	62
found without seeking	12	0	8	8	5
neither found nor sought	<u>25</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>27</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Better Schools</u>					
sought without finding	25	27	19	29	23
sought and found	75	40	51	29	46
found without seeking	0	6	11	14	8
neither found nor sought	<u>0</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>23</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%



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TABLE 3  
(continued)

Environmental Features	Percent of Respondents by Percent of Non- White Population in New Location Areas				All Respondents
	Over 50%	25-50%	10-25%	Under 10%	
<u>Better Recreation</u>					
sought without finding	12	11	4	0	7
sought and found	25	21	18	50	27
found without seeking	25	8	5	17	10
neither found nor sought	<u>38</u> 100%	<u>60</u> 100%	<u>73</u> 100%	<u>33</u> 100%	<u>56</u> 100%
<u>Better Transportation</u>					
sought without finding	14	5	14	12	9
sought and found	29	24	26	18	24
found without seeking	29	15	5	23	15
neither found nor sought	<u>28</u> 100%	<u>56</u> 100%	<u>55</u> 100%	<u>47</u> 100%	<u>52</u> 100%
<u>Integration</u>					
sought without finding	38	0	5	0	3
sought and found	0	33	26	44	32
found without seeking	0	7	5	39	12
neither found nor sought	<u>62</u> 100%	<u>60</u> 100%	<u>64</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>53</u> 100%

Overall the most difficult accomplishment seems to be to find better schools. Ghetto respondents appear to be relatively most successful in finding good schools and respondents from white areas least successful, but the figures must be generalized both for statistical reasons and because the standards used by the households in judging the schools are not known.

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Perhaps Table 3 reflects a higher standard for education on the part of respondents from white areas, but the table is not sufficient proof.

A little more than a third of the respondents living in white areas found better buildings compared to nearly three-fourths of Group B respondents. There are too few respondents previously located in white areas to reveal positively whether better buildings, once they are experienced, are being sought in preference to new neighborhoods. However, the fact that over two-thirds of all respondents now living in white areas formerly resided in areas with over 25 percent non-white population, where respondents show great desires for better buildings, and that over 80 percent of all respondents sought better buildings indicate that the data may reflect a relocation process with gradations through various levels of integration.

The process seems to have four steps, beginning with ghetto residence, most likely in an undesirable building and surroundings. (1) A better dwelling is sought, perhaps under an emergency, without great regard for neighborhood amenities. (2) Non-emergency or non-urgent factors other than building conditions become important and a move is made; most likely to gain more space and possibly to a better neighborhood. (3) Neighborhood considerations become paramount and a move is made to gain a better environment. (4) A better dwelling in the community is sought.

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The process should be verified or reconstructed. It can only be said that Open City placement results yield a definite impression that a pattern exists. The verification of a pattern would be important for urban planning. For Open City's purposes, the impression of a pattern is too strong to ignore.

About one-third of respondents seeking integration have found it in all area categories of racial composition. This feature has been sought and found most frequently in white areas. Because integration is a subjective determination, the data should not be interpreted explicitly.

Table 3 shows that recreation is of relative importance only to respondents in white areas and that they are successful in obtaining this amenity. Transportation is of relatively less importance to all respondents.

The Questionnaire provided space for citing environmental features sought but not dealt with in Table 3. Citations of other features of environment dealt with specific building items, strictly personal requirements, better shopping, safety, specific neighborhood aspects and the desire to buy in a co-operative apartment.

The lengthy responses to the questions on environmental features indicate that considerable planning and deliberation went into the moves represented by Open City's successful clients. The contribution Open City has made toward encourag-

## Placement Questionnaire Report

ing the planning of these moves is not measured. The results of attitude surveys in ghetto areas of New York City do confirm the direction in which Open City is working. For example, the attitude survey undertaken by John F. Kraft, Inc., in 1966 for the Study Group headed by Edward J. Logue indicated that "the largest single problem facing Harlem residents in their own eyes is poor housing and living conditions---". Moreover, when asked where they would like to live if they had to move, 83 percent of those questioned said outside of Harlem and none wanted their children to live in Harlem when they grow up.

### Environmental Features Sought

TABLE 4

MOST IMPORTANT FEATURES OF ENVIRONMENT  
SOUGHT BY RESPONDENTS DURING RELOCATIONS

	<u>Feature of Environment</u>	<u>Percents of Citations</u>
1.	a better neighborhood	28
2.	a better building	25
3.	more living space	16
4.	better schools	10
5.	integrated housing	10
6.	better transportation	8
7.	better parks and recreation space	<u>3</u>
		100%

Table 4 indicates by rank order the most important environmental features that respondents sought during relocation. The paramount value of better neighborhoods and buildings to

## Placement Questionnaire Report

Open City's clients is again emphasized. Integration was only cited by one out of ten respondents as the most important community feature that they were seeking. Thus, although it is valued, integration is achieved more as a result of other environmental gains than as an independent ideal.

The importance to Open City's clients of more living space and the difficulty of obtaining it in the New York real estate market are well known to the program. In fact, more space is usually seen as accompanying the desired building and environmental features.

### Home-Seeking Experiences

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF HOUSING INVESTIGATIONS MADE  
BY RESPONDENTS BY NEW LOCATION AREAS

Number of Housing Investigations	Percent of Respondents by Percent of Non- White Population in New Location Areas				All Respondents
	Over 50%	25-50%	10-25%	Under 10%	
1 or 2	13	21	25	17	21
3 to 10	12	29	38	62	36
Over 10	<u>75</u> 100%	<u>50</u> 100%	<u>37</u> 100%	<u>21</u> 100%	<u>43</u> 100%

The home-seeking experience of respondents to the Open City Placement Questionnaire indicates that living quarters are found with fewer tries as they are located in areas that are progressively more white. Table 5 shows a steady decline in



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the proportion of respondents searching extensively (i.e. over 10 investigations) for housing as the locations become more white. Over half the respondents in Group B areas (25-50% non-white) had to make more than 10 housing investigations, as against one-fifth in white areas, although satisfactions are evidently much greater in the white areas.

The data indicate that respondents in white areas must make more than two housing investigations, generally as often as respondents in any of the other area categories of racial composition. However, the fact that 75 percent of the respondents from ghetto areas fail to find suitable quarters in ten or more housing investigations is evidence that respondents are trying to satisfy definite standards. We also know that their standards are more often met in white areas.

### Incidence of Discrimination

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF INSTANCES OF DISCRIMINATION  
ENCOUNTERED BY RESPONDENTS BY NEW LOCATION  
AREAS

Number of Instances of Discrimination	Percent of Respondents by Percent of Non- White Population in New Location Areas				All Respondents
	Over 50%	25-50%	10-25%	Under 10%	
None	14	31	25	22	26
1	0	18	21	33	20
2 or more	<u>86</u> 100%	<u>51</u> 100%	<u>54</u> 100%	<u>55</u> 100%	<u>54</u> 100%



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The data displayed in Table 6 on discrimination encountered during home-seeking show that it is a common experience of respondents. The Table indicates that at least 85 percent of the respondents in each area category of racial composition have met discrimination. However, those who relocate in ghetto areas experience multiple instances of discrimination most frequently.

When viewed in conjunction with Table 5, a possible interpretation of this finding is that respondents now living in ghetto areas searched intensively, but without success and often meeting discrimination, for housing outside the ghettos. Not finding it, they were compelled to remain in ghetto, or near ghetto areas. It is assumed then, that the numerous housing inquiries and the frequent discrimination reported by ghetto residents were a result of seriously trying to escape the ghetto and were not encountered within it.

Amplifying this interpretation are the results of Table 5, showing that most ghetto respondents have undertaken ten or more housing investigations before relocating, while most white area respondents have looked less than ten times. The magnitudes of Table 5 and the fact that less than half as many ghetto as white area respondents file complaints against discrimination, as seen in Table 8, suggest that there would be more placements outside of ghettos, if many of those who eventually settle in or near ghetto areas, after being denied housing

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in white areas, reported their experience of discrimination and filed complaints.

A full interpretation of the type of behavior noted in Table 6 cannot be made with the existing information as reported by the clients. Some of the data needed may well not be amenable to rigid determination. However, existing data indicate that the Open City program should be forceful in having all cases of suspected discrimination reported and in pursuing all discrimination complaints.

### Expectations and Experience in Discrimination

The expectations and experiences of respondents in regard to discrimination are compared in Table 7. The prevalence of discrimination as expectation and for reality is shown by the fact that half of all households who did not encounter any discrimination expected some and that even two-thirds of those who experienced five or more instances still had their expectations exceeded. The harsh truth revealed in Table 6 is that only one-quarter of all the respondents avoided some instance of discrimination and one-half had more than one instance. The data in Table 7 corroborate the attitude revealed by the statistic above; the more discrimination encountered the more likely were expectations to be surpassed.

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TABLE 7

## EXPECTATIONS OF DISCRIMINATION VERSUS EXPERIENCE FOR RESPONDENTS BY NEW LOCATION AREAS

		<u>Percent of Respondents</u>			
Percent Non-white Population in New Location Areas		Experienced More Discrimination Than Expected	Experienced Less Discrimination Than Expected	Experienced As Much Discrimination As Expected	Total
Group A	over 50%	50	17	33	100%
Group B	25-50%	31	38	31	100%
Group C	10-25%	40	30	30	100%
Group D	under 10%	41	35	24	100%
All respondents		37	33	30	100%
Number of Instances of Discrimination					
none		--	50	50	100%
a few (1 or 2)		19	44	37	100%
several (3 to 5)		44	31	25	100%
many (over 5)		64	18	18	100%

The suppositions about the home-seeking experiences of households who settled in the ghetto are also endorsed by Table 7. Thus, we discover that half the respondents living in ghetto areas reported experiencing more discrimination than they anticipated. When would they experience this treatment except if they had unsuccessfully sought housing outside the ghetto?

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Evidence that discrimination is common is no surprise. That clients experience more discrimination than they expect indicates that the Open City staff must do more to prepare clients to expect discrimination in the housing market and once encountered offer them the means to overcome it. In gross terms, the experience of Open City's clients is that discrimination is unavoidable but can be overcome with effort. An important deduction from the respondent's experience, since generalized areas of racial composition seem to be valid bases for measuring and drawing conclusions regarding potential housing for non-whites, is that non-white home-seekers can attain better housing and community values if they are guided into specific geographical areas in New York.

The report Planning For Open City, found that Open City could considerably increase its effectiveness by adopting a geographic strategy. It noted that "There are large areas in New York City from which Negroes have been excluded, and which contain good housing values within sound buildings, as well as good transportation and public services. These areas should be designated Target Areas and intensive campaigns for securing open housing occupancy should be conducted in them."

### Use of Open City Services

Table 8 shows the degree to which the respondents used the various services offered by Open City. The table indicates

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that advice on housing opportunities is the most used service of Open City, emphasizing the importance of the program's counselling work.

TABLE 8

### SERVICES OF OPERATION OPEN CITY USED BY RESPONDENTS BY NEW LOCATION AREAS

<u>Service</u>	Percent Citing Service by Percent of Non-white Population in New Location Areas				All Respondents
	Over 50%	25-50%	10-25%	Under 10%	
advice on housing opportunities	100	64	54	71	66
checking against discrimination	25	43	71	77	56
advice on home-finding techniques	50	43	42	41	43
information on neighborhoods	63	33	46	47	42
advice on housing rights	75	38	42	23	40
preparing cases against discrimination	13	26	33	30	28

Checking suspected cases of discrimination is the most important service provided to respondents living in areas with less than one-quarter non-white population. However, this service is relatively unimportant to ghetto respondents. As we already know that respondents living in ghetto areas encountered a good deal of discrimination it appears that they were not reporting and seeking legal redress for the treatment



## Placement Questionnaire Report

they had experienced. This gap again indicates the importance of knowing client experience in home-seeking.

The number of respondents filing formal charges of discrimination is roughly the same in all area categories of racial composition outside the ghetto and totals one-half the number of respondents for whom checking was performed. It is doubtful that many other categories of wrong-doing in New York have such a high ratio of detected to suspected incidences.

### Household Size

TABLE 9

#### HOUSEHOLD SIZE OF RESPONDENTS AND PLACEMENTS

<u>Number of Persons in Household</u>	<u>Percent of Respondents</u>	<u>Percent of Placements (March 1 to June 15, 1966)</u>
1	23	27
2	21	31
3	21	17
4	17	11
5	6	10
6	5	0
7	2	4
8 or more	5	0

Table 9 compares the household size of respondents to the Placement Questionnaire with earlier data on the household size of clients placed by Open City. The table indicates that



## Placement Questionnaire Report

respondents to the Questionnaire are generally representative, in terms of household size, of Open City's successful clients.

### Old and New Rents

Table 10 shows the rents being paid by respondents and the changes in rents resulting from their relocation. The table shows that the highest rents are likely to be paid in white areas. However, lower rents are common in white areas as are higher rents in ghetto areas. Coupled with the fact that respondents in white areas select housing after fewer investigations than respondents in ghetto areas, the data may reflect the need to look at many more vacancies in the ghetto in order to find an acceptable one.

TABLE 10

RENTS PAID BY RESPONDENTS AND RENT CHANGES,  
BY NEW LOCATION AREAS

New Monthly Rents	Percent of Respondents by Percent of Non- White Population in New Location Areas				All Respondents
	Over 50%	25-50%	10-25%	Under 10%	
under \$80	13	25	17	17	20
\$81 - \$100	25	30	8	6	19
\$101 - \$125	25	18	33	11	21
\$126 - \$150	12	20	29	27	24
over \$150	<u>25</u> 100%	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>39</u> 100%	<u>16</u> 100%

# Placement Questionnaire Report

TABLE 10  
(continued)

<u>Rent Change</u>	Percent of Respondents by Percent of Non-White Population in New Location Areas				
	Over 50%	25-50%	10-25%	Under 10%	All Respondents
decrease	0	18	38	19	22
increase: 0 - \$25	56	40	0	19	27
increase: over \$25	<u>44</u> 100%	<u>42</u> 100%	<u>62</u> 100%	<u>62</u> 100%	<u>51</u> 100%

Perhaps it is significant that respondents in areas between 10 per cent 50 percent non-white (the two middle categories) are generally more likely to pay lower rents than respondents from white and ghetto areas, although rent changes are as great in the former areas as in the latter. The inference may be that values other than economic are either sought or imposed more frequently in white and ghetto areas than in the other areas, whereas economic values are of relatively great importance in selecting locations in the intermediate areas.

Rent changes are higher in areas with less than 25 percent non-white population (Groups C and D) than in areas above this proportion. Rent decreases did not occur in ghetto areas, indicating a relative lack of economic choice in these areas. Rents decreased proportionately twice as frequently in Group C areas (10-25% non-white) as in other areas of decrease, possibly indicating that economically these are the most opportune areas.

## Placement Questionnaire Report

It is an important finding, as it implies that other than economic values are being sought in white areas.

### Size of Housing Unit

Table 11 shows a dramatic shift away from one and two-room apartments by respondents in all area categories of racial composition. A shift to larger units is also pronounced within all areas except these with 10 to 25 percent non-white population (Group C). The decided shift to larger quarters confirms the importance of housing space in the choices made by Open City's clients.

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN OLD AND NEW HOUSING UNITS  
OF RESPONDENTS BY NEW LOCATION AREAS

<u>Number of Rooms in Old Location</u>	Percent of Respondents by Percent of Non- White Population in New Location Areas				All Respondents
	Over 50%	25-50%	10-25%	Under 10%	
1 and 2	29	26	16	23	23
3	14	26	20	42	26
4	29	26	28	23	26
5 or more	<u>28</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>25</u> 100%
<u>Number of Rooms in New Location</u>					
1 and 2	12	2	8	0	4
3	25	38	27	22	31
4	13	20	38	56	31
5 or more	<u>50</u> 100%	<u>40</u> 100%	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>34</u> 100%

## Placement Questionnaire Report

The data indicates that respondents in ghetto areas have moved from one and two-room housing units into three room units and from four rooms into housing with five or more rooms. A similar process seems to have taken place with respondents in Group B areas (25-50% non-white).

Relatively few of the units with five or more rooms are in white areas; although the proportion of new units is about double that of old units and all respondents in this area who were formerly in one and two-room units have vacated them, and many have moved from three-room units. This leaves the heaviest concentration of white area units in the four-room size. Four-room units are also the most important type for Group C area (10-25% non-white) respondents, although to a much lesser degree. The data suggest that space is often sacrificed to other considerations in white areas with the transition to this attitude incipient in Group C areas.

### Written Responses

Written comments were solicited in two parts of the Questionnaire. One question asked for opinions on ways to improve the Open City program. A small space was provided and comments were brief. General comments on Open City and open housing were invited on the back of the form. These comments tended to be lengthy.

## Placement Questionnaire Report

The number of respondents expressing opinions on Open City and open housing was the major surprise of the Questionnaire, with about 80 percent writing comments. About 20 percent made comments in the space for program improvement suggestions. Together the comments provide advice that Open City should consider fully. The praises as well as the suggestions can be constructive.

In general, Open City was highly praised for providing organized and persistent counselling services to clients. The chief concern expressed by clients is that more people should become aware of the program and what it can do. Extension of the services to more people was recommended by almost all respondents. Considerations were also expressed that the program is valuable as a symbol that something can be done.

Another major concern is that the new neighborhoods are often in a state of transition. Respondents expressed a desire to help stabilize their new neighborhoods but seemed unable to act. An expression of the frustration felt by some respondents is in the suggestion that Open City more carefully screen its registrants for middle-class values before referring them to listings.

A frequent comment was that the fair housing laws be enforced more stringently. Respondents felt that landlords who discriminate should be subject to mandatory punishment.



## Placement Questionnaire Report

### Conclusion

The major conclusion to be drawn from analysis of the Open City Placement Questionnaire is that open housing in New York is a process with component functions rather than a function in or of itself. Open City's clients are changing their life styles in a series of steps that accomplish intermediate purposes rather than attaining ultimate goals.

The steps exhibit a pattern that should assure Open City, and observers and activists in open housing, of the importance of a patient, divisible program of the type Open City operates.

Analysis of the Questionnaire reveals that open housing is not discrimination-fighting per se. It must also be pre-eminently involved with housing problems that seem, on the surface, to be matters for agencies seeking to improve life within ghetto confines. An important adjunct of this finding is that open housing cannot be evaluated by any single locational standard. To try to achieve strict levels of integration is to separate the service from its most relevant potential--providing freedom of choice to ghetto residents. The Placement Questionnaire as an evaluator of the Open City program indicates that open housing, considered as a process, is a valuable tool for creating options for improving life styles for ghetto residents.



## Placement Questionnaire Report

To increase the efficiency of the Open City program, the Questionnaire points to a greater sharing of information about the open housing process with its clients. Information developed by the Questionnaire should be passed on to Open City's registrants for their use in seeking better housing and neighborhoods.

OPERATION OPEN CITY OF THE NEW YORK URBAN LEAGUE

217 West 125th Street 1059 Nostrand Avenue 90-50 Parsons Boulevard  
New York, N. Y. 10027 Brooklyn, N.Y. 11225 Jamaica, N. Y. 11432  
663-9500 778-8616 658-4303

Dear Sir and Madam:

This questionnaire is being sent to families and individuals who have been in contact with Operation Open City during the search for better housing. We feel that your experience can help us plan our program to be more helpful to future seekers of better housing. Won't you please answer the following questions and return them to us in the envelope provided?

1. What was your old address? \_\_\_\_\_  
What is your new address? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What rent did you pay at your old address? \_\_\_\_\_  
What is the rent at your new address? \_\_\_\_\_
3. How many rooms did you have at your old address? \_\_\_\_\_  
How many rooms do you have at your new address? \_\_\_\_\_
4. How many persons are in your family? \_\_\_\_\_  
How many school aged children? \_\_\_\_\_
5. In your move, which items below did you seek and which did you find?
 

	<u>Seek</u>	<u>Find</u>
a. a better building	_____	_____
b. a better neighborhood	_____	_____
c. more space	_____	_____
d. better schools	_____	_____
e. better parks and recreation space	_____	_____
f. better transportation	_____	_____
g. integrated housing	_____	_____
h. what else? _____	_____	_____
i. please underline the items above which are most important.		
6. What is most important for you in a neighborhood?
  - a. a good environemnt for raising children \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. nearness to employment \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. nearness to family and friends \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. what else? \_\_\_\_\_
7. How many times did you encounter or suspect discrimination? \_\_\_\_\_  
Did you expect as much, more or less discrimination than you found? \_\_\_\_\_

Placement Questionnaire (cont'd)

8. How many different apartments or houses did you look at before moving to your new address? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Are you bothered with discrimination in your new neighborhood? \_\_\_\_\_
10. What services of Open City or a fair housing group did you use?  
a. checking for discrimination \_\_\_\_\_  
b. preparing cases against landlords \_\_\_\_\_  
c. information about neighborhoods \_\_\_\_\_  
d. advice on housing rights \_\_\_\_\_  
e. advice on house hunting techniques \_\_\_\_\_  
f. advice on housing opportunities \_\_\_\_\_
11. In what ways could Open City or a fair housing group have helped you more? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
12. Did you move closer to or away from most of your family and friends? \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Are you encouraging them to move closer to you? \_\_\_\_\_  
Did they encourage you to move closer to them? \_\_\_\_\_
13. What are your comments on Open City or open housing?  
Please tell us on reverse of sheet.

Your name is desired on the line below, but it is not necessary.  
In any case this questionnaire is strictly confidential.

\_\_\_\_\_

PART II: A NOTE ON THE INCOME OF OPEN CITY PLACEMENTS

Statistics on the income of families who secured housing through Operation Open City were compiled for the period March 1, 1966 to September 1, 1966, and were published in Planning for Open City. Additional material has been compiled for the period September 1, 1966, to June 1, 1967. 308 new placements out of a total of over 400 were surveyed. Full statistics can also be assembled for the year ending September 1, 1967. The table below compares the proportion of placements by income groups during the two periods.

DISTRIBUTION OF OPEN CITY PLACEMENTS BY ANNUAL INCOME GROUPS  
MARCH 1 TO SEPTEMBER 1, 1966, AND SEPTEMBER 1, 1966, TO JUNE  
1, 1967.

<u>Annual Income Group</u>	<u>Percentage of Placements</u>	
	March 1, 1966 To September 1, 1966	September 1, 1966 To June 1, 1967
Welfare	13	26
Under \$4,000 (Non-Welfare)	3	4
\$4 - 5,999	28	23
\$6 - 7,999	23	23
\$8 -10,000	15	13
Over \$10,000	18	11

The table shows that Open City has doubled its placement rate for low-income families receiving welfare. This is due to improved counseling practices and continued emphasis on providing a variety of services to low-income families.

## Placement Questionnaire Report

Encouraging as the statistics are, they do not disclose the full extent of Open City's role in helping families get better housing. Data on family and income structure for placements during the survey period are revealing.

Of families not on Welfare, with incomes between \$4,000 and \$6,000 per year, 16 percent had two or more working members. Of the 84 percent of the families with one worker, 4 out of 5 had only one or two members. Eighty percent of the families with four or more members had two working members.

Among families with annual incomes -- between \$6,000 and \$10,000, 45 percent had two or more working members, 29 percent had only one adult member and only 26 percent consisted of one working member and two or more non-working adults.

Of the 11 percent of the families with incomes over \$10,000, 96 percent had two or more working members.

The compelling inference is that a very large share of Open City's placements are willing to assume considerable economic responsibilities, implied in the number of families with more than one wage-earner, to attain better living conditions. The change of environment that is implied in using Open City's services must be valued in this context.







# LOCATIONS OF OPEN CITY CLIENTS

BASED ON RESPONSES TO PLACEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE, 1967

## DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES-1964 REPRESENTED BY CHILDREN IN SCHOOL PLANNING DISTRICTS

NEW YORK CITY  
WITHOUT STATEN ISLAND

	50-100
	25-50
	10-25
	2.5-10
	0-2.5

percent





